

## Message Text

SECRET

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ORIGIN EA-06

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P R 110000Z JUL 78  
FM SECSTATE WASHDC  
TO AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY  
INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL  
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI  
USLO PEKING  
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK  
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HAWAII 0000

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LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, PFOR, EGEN, EAID, JA

SUBJECT: NEWSOM-TOGO MEETING 7/7/78

1. SUMMARY: JAPANESE AMBASSADOR TOGO DISCLOSED TO UNDER  
SECRETARY NEWSOM DURING JULY 7 MEETING GOJ VIEW THAT SRV  
VICE FOREIGN MINISTER PHAN HIEN HAD HINTED DURING HIS  
RECENT JAPAN VISIT AT VIETNAMESE WILLINGNESS TO DROP  
COMMITMENT FROM US FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AS A NORMAL-  
IZATION PRE-CONDITION. NEWSOM EXPRESSED INTEREST IN RE-  
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CEIVING FULLER ACCOUNT OF PHAN HIEN REMARKS. HE BRIEFED  
TOGO ON US CHINESE POLICY, PARTICULARLY ARMS SALES AREA  
RECENTLY IN NEWS, AS WELL AS US ATTITUDE TOWARD SRV.  
AMBASSADOR TOGO REQUESTED BILATERAL MEETING FOR PRIME  
MINISTER FUKUDA WITH PRESIDENT CARTER DURING BONN SUMMIT.  
END SUMMARY.

2. UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM MET WITH JAPANESE AMBASSADOR TOGO AT LATTER'S REQUEST JULY 7 TO DISCUSS SOME POLITICAL ISSUES WHICH MIGHT COME UP AT THE FORTHCOMING BONN SUMMIT MEETING. UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM ASKED AMBASSADOR TOGO WHAT ISSUES THE GOJ HAD IN MIND. TOGO RESPONDED THAT THE GOJ WAS PARTICULARLY INTERESTED IN VIETNAM AND CHINA.

3. RE VIETNAM, TOGO SAID THAT SRV VICE FOREIGN MINISTER AND CENTRAL COMMITTEE MEMBER PHAN HIEN HAD MADE TWO PRINCIPAL POINTS DURING HIS RECENT TOKYO VISIT: (A) A CAREFUL EXPLANATION OF WHY THE SRV HAD FELT IT NECESSARY TO JOIN CEMA; AND (B) A STRONG VIETNAMESE NEED AND DESIRE FOR US AID. TOGO EXPRESSED HIS PERSONAL VIEW THAT THE US NOW HELD THE KEY TO FURTHER PROGRESS, IF IT WISHED, BUT THAT JAPAN HAD NO ROLE TO PLAY IN INFLUENCING OUR DECISION.

4. UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM AGREED, BUT NOTED THE IM- POSSIBILITY FOR THE USG OF MAKING A COMMITMENT TO PROVIDE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AS A PRECONDITION FOR ESTABLISHING DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS. HE ASKED TOGO WHETHER PHAN HIEN HAD REITERATED THE PREVIOUS VIETNAMESE POSITION. TOGO RESPONDED THAT PHAN HIEN HAD RECOGNIZED THE PROBLEMS THE US FACED IN EXTENDING ASSISTANCE TO VIETNAM. DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY OAKLEY RECALLED THAT THE VIETNAMESE HAVE UP TO NOW STRESSED AN ADVANCE COMMITMENT ON ASSIST- ANCE FROM THE US AS BEING ESSENTIAL, ALTHOUGH INDICATING  
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A WILLINGNESS NOT TO PRESS FOR ITS IMPLEMENTATION.

5. POLITICAL COUNSELOR ARIMA THEN READ A PERTINENT PORTION OF THE MOFA CABLE AS FOLLOWS: "THE VIETNAMESE SAID THAT IN MEETINGS WITH THE US THEY USUALLY TALK ABOUT ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE WHILE THE US EMPHASIZES MIA ISSUES. THE VIETNAMESE STATED THEY ARE PREPARED TO BEGIN TALKS WITH THE US IN THE NEAR FUTURE AND, IF THE US TALKS ABOUT CONSTRUCTIVE THINGS, THAT THE VIETNAMESE SIDE IS PREPARED TO EXAMINE THE POSSIBILITY OF WITHDRAWING ITS PREVIOUS VIEWS." AMBASSADOR NEWSOM NOTING THAT THIS WAS THE FIRST TIME HE COULD RECALL ANY INDICATION THE SRV MIGHT DROP ITS DEMAND FOR AID, ASKED WHETHER THIS WAS FROM THE RECORD OF THE PHAN HIE FOREIGN MINISTER SONODA TALKS. THE JAPANESE RESPONDED NEGATIVELY, SAYING THAT IT WAS FROM A MOFA CABLE ABOUT FOREIGN MINISTER SONODA'S BRIEF- ING OF AMBASSADOR MANSFIELD ON THE SUBJECT. UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM AND MR. OAKLEY EXPRESSED INTEREST IN SEEING A FULLER RECORD FOR NUANCES AND FURTHER DETAILS WHICH COULD BE IMPORTANT IN SUCH A COMPLEX ISSUE.

6. MR. ARIMA THEN READ AN ADDITIONAL PERTINENT PORTION

OF THE CABLE AS FOLLOWS: "THE VIETNAMESE SIDE IS AWARE OF THE DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN ANY US EFFORT TO PERSUADE CONGRESS AND THE PUBLIC TO GIVE ASSISTANCE TO VIETNAM. HOWEVER, IT WOULD CONVERSELY BE DIFFICULT FOR THE SRVG TO EXPLAIN TO THE VIETNAMESE PUBLIC HOW THE NATIONAL FLAG OF THE US COULD AGAIN APPEAR IN VIETNAM WITHOUT ANYTHING BEING OBTAINED IN RETURN FOR THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE."

7. UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM ADDED THAT THE OTHER NORMALIZATION ISSUE WAS THE SRV DEMAND THAT THE US UNILATERALLY LIFT THE TRADE EMBARGO WITHOUT RECEIVING ANY COMMITMENTS FROM THE VIETNAMESE. HE STRESSED THAT ANY MOVEMENT ON THE PART OF THE US SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY A NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS.

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8. MR. NEWSOM SAID THAT SOME US SRV CONTACTS DID CONTINUE IN THE ABSENCE OF NORMALIZATION. HE NOTED THAT AN SRV MIA TEAM WOULD ARRIVE SHORTLY IN HAWAII FOR TALKS WITH US TECHNICIANS BUT THAT ASSISTANT SECRETARY HOLBROOKE WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO RESPOND POSITIVELY TO THE POSSIBILITY OF A MEETING IN EUROPE THIS SUMMER WITH SRV VICE FOM MIN NGUYEN CO THACH.

9. RE CHINA, UNDER SECRETARY NEWSOM REITERATED THAT OUR ULTIMATE GOAL REMAINED NORMALIZATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE. HE NOTED THAT DR. BRZEZINSKI HAD ALREADY BRIEFED THE GOJ ON HIS MOST RECENT TRIP. HE EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THERE WERE TWO FACETS OF US-PRC RELATIONS OF PARTICULAR INTEREST AT THIS TIME: (A) SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL EXCHANGES AND (B) ARMS SALES. REGARDING THE FORMER, HE MENTIONED THE HIGH LEVEL RECEPTION ACCORDED THE US SCIENTIFIC TEAM NOW IN THE PRC HEADED BY WHITE HOUSE SCIENCE ADVISOR, DR. FRANK PRESS. HE SAID THIS WAS AN EXPLORATORY EFFORT AND THAT WE WOULD PROBABLY SEE AN EXPANSION OF SUCH EXCHANGES AS LONG AS BOTH SIDES REMAINED RECEPTIVE.

10. RE ARMS SALES, THE UNDER SECRETARY REITERATED THAT US POLICY REMAINED NOT TO PROVIDE ARMS TO THE PRC OR THE USSR. WE WOULD ADDRESS DUAL USE ITEMS (HAVING BOTH MILITARY AND CIVILIAN CAPABILITIES) ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS. RE TAIWAN, MR. NEWSOM SAID THAT, CONTRARY TO PRESS REPORTS, THE US HAD NOT CHANGED ITS ARMS SALES POLICIES. WE HAVE MADE A NEW DECISION ONLY ON A PARTICULAR SALE (THE KFIR), NOT ON OUR OVERALL POLICY.

11. AMBASSADOR TOGO STATED THAT THE JUXTAPOSITION OF THE  
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CURRENT US SCIENCE MISSION TO PEKING TO THE BRZEZINSKI TRIP HAD GIVEN RISE TO MEDIA SPECULATION ABOUT A NORMALIZATION TIMETABLE. APOLOGIZING TO MR. NEWSOM FOR THE JOURNALISTIC NATURE OF THE QUESTION, HE ASKED IF THERE WAS ANY SORT OF SCHEDULE. MR. NEWSOM RESPONDED THAT THERE WAS NONE THAT HE WAS AWARE OF.

12. AMBASSADOR TOGO DISCLOSED THAT SINO-JAPANESE NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO BE RESUMED ON JULY 21 TO CONCLUDE

THE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP TREATY BUT THAT HE HAD NO INFORMATION ON SPECIFIC DETAILS. MR. NEWSOM ASKED WHETHER THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE WOULD REMAIN PART OF THE TREATY. AMBASSADOR TOGO REPLIED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE. MR. OAKLEY OFFERED THE OBSERVATION THAT THE INDOCHINA SITUATION MAY HARDEN PRC DETERMINATION ABOUT THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE. AMBASSADOR TOGO AGREED, NOTING THAT IN THE ABSENCE OF PRC FLEXIBILITY ON HOW TO WORD THIS CLAUSE, THE GOJ POSITION WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT.

13. AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MEETING AMBASSADOR TOGO ASKED IF PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA COULD HAVE A BILATERAL MEETING WITH PRESIDENT CARTER SOMETIME DURING THE BONN SUMMIT. THE UNDER SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT WE WOULD LOOK INTO THE MATTER AND LET THE EMBASSY KNOW. IN CHECKING, WE FIND THAT THERE IS NO TIME IN THE PRESIDENT'S SCHEDULE FOR BILATERALS. THE DEPARTMENT IS NOT RECOMMENDING ANY AND NONE ARE PLANNED. (FYI WE HAVE INFORMED THE JAPANESE EMBASSY OF THIS.)

14. AMBASSADOR TOGO EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR DEPARTMENT'S COOPERATION IN RECEIVING A SPATE OF RECENT JAPANESE VISITORS. HE ASKED FOR MR. NEWSOM'S FORBEARANCE, NOTING THAT THIS WAS A DIET RECESS PERIOD. VANCE

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## Message Attributes

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